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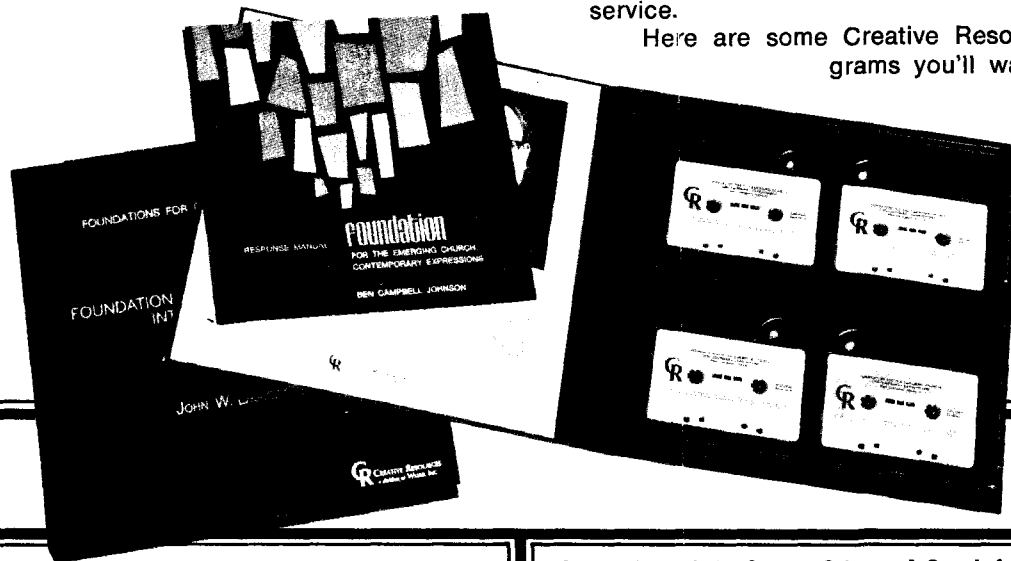
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NEWS & VIEWS

One-Branch Rule

The doings of the Nixon Administration provide no consolation to those worried about the Executive Branch becoming a government unto itself.

A study instituted by Congressman Morris K. Udall shows that under Richard Nixon the White House staff has increased 25 percent and that nine new satellite offices have been created within the Executive Office of the President (EOP). In jobs, this translates to 1,766 permanent positions in the EOP in 1970; 2,206 are planned for fiscal '73.

This is the same Nixon, it is recalled, who in a message to Congress on March 12, 1970, announced a reorganization of the Executive Office and said its purpose was to "enable us to give the country not only more effective but also more economical government."

Instead, he has given the country a more expensive, more lopsided Executive Branch.

Udall detailed the disaster in a letter to Congressman Thaddeus J. Dulski, chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service:

Salaries. Up to \$41 million annually (from \$32 million during the Johnson Administration), and increasing at an annual rate of \$4.45 million.

New layers of bureaucracy. "A 'special assistant' under President Kennedy was considered top rank; under President Nixon it is at best third-rate on a staff that abounds with counselors, assistants, special consultants, all of whom require their own staffs, complete with secretaries."

"Ungraded" positions hiding top-level executives. "While the President has long had the authority to hire ungraded employees (not subject to normal Civil Service controls) so that

groundskeepers, an occasional French chef or specialists of various types could be hired, President Nixon has distorted this practice to permit the proliferation of largely anonymous high-level policy makers."

A 50 percent growth of Kissinger's National Security Council. Because of the close relationship between Nixon and Kissinger, the NSC "must be considered part of the President's staff," says Udall. "The extraordinary growth of its staff size and influence has quite possibly made the upper echelons of the State Department virtually useless in policy determinations."

The problem in all of this transcends mere numbers and dollars, obviously; it concerns the traditional philosophy of government in this country, because of the eroding effects that a giant Presidential staff (functioning with executive privilege) has on the powers of Congress, the responsibilities of the Cabinet, and the stabilizing controls of the Civil Service.

Congressman Udall focused precisely on this: "The origin of much of the present-day conflict comes from the fact that on many vital issues during the Nixon Administration, decisions are no longer made by the Cabinet members. Instead men little known to the public at large, never confirmed by the Senate, hired outside Civil Service requirements, make daily calls and contacts in the name of a President they may rarely see. 'The White House wants. . . ' 'The President has asked me to . . . ' Yet these anonymous men wielding enormous public power claim to be immune from any public accountability for their actions."

(Note that Henry Kissinger, Peter Flanigan, H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman have all recently balked at testifying before Congress.)

Udall asked that the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee review the entire operation of the Executive Office through public hear-

ings. "Whoever is in the White House next Jan. 20 will have to deal with the issues," Udall continued. "The problems strike to the heart of our government. How the problems are solved will be a measure of the men taking the oath to serve faithfully and defend the Constitution."

Nixon's Fiction

History gives the lie to Richard Nixon on the crucial point of the line dividing North and South Vietnam.

Nixon, in his April 26 talk to the nation: "What we are witnessing here—what is being brutally inflicted upon the people of South Vietnam—is a clear case of naked and unprovoked aggression across an international border. The only word for it is invasion."

Paragraph 6 of the 1954 Geneva Accords: "The Conference recognizes that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Viet-Nam is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

Missionaries on Fire

The 79 U.S. Protestant and Catholic missionaries working in Chile, who last July addressed a public letter to Richard Nixon demanding U.S. respect for Chilean sovereignty, have now protested to ITT president Harold S. Geneen over ITT's attempt

to block Dr. Salvador Allende's assumption to the Presidency of Chile.

"As Christian missionaries seeking the integral development of man, we are involved at many levels of the Chilean reality and share the desire of this people to construct their society on justice, hard work, equality and solidarity," said their protest. "We condemn, therefore, the plotting of the ITT as if it were the right of a U.S. corporation, the CIA, or the U.S. Government to decide Chile's future, or that of any other sovereign people."

Odds and Ends

—The "even" hand of American justice recently provided paroles for former LBJ protégé Bobby Baker, influence peddler; former Congressional administrative assistant Martin Sweig, perjurer, briber and conspirator; and salad-oil king Anthony De Angelis, whose warehouse receipt scheme earned him the description as "one of history's most successful swindlers." It refused parole to Vincent F. McGee, Jr., former seminarian and executive director of Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace, who is serving a two-year sentence for refusing the draft.

—There'd be precious little civil rights or anti-war war movement in the U.S. if the *New York Times'* logic for Ireland applied here. The *Times'* news coverage of the Widgery Report dealing with the 13 deaths in Derry played up that the march was "illegal" and "created a highly dangerous situation." "Even the most extreme [Irish nationalist] cannot effectively challenge [that] first of Lord Widgery's conclusions about responsibility for the Derry disaster," added the *Times* editorially. That sentence could almost have been written by the person who drafted the Ohio National Guard's report on the Kent State murders.

JOHN DEEDY



CORRESPONDENCE



Taking Sides

Nutley, N.J.

To the Editors: In his excellent piece on Camilo Torres [*Commonweal*, April 21], Philip Berryman formulates very clearly an issue which is on every thinking mind in Latin America and with which we are beginning to tussle in this country. He insists, as Camilo did, that neutrality is impossible in a conflictive situation, when not to take sides is already to have taken sides. He points to the recent Synod of Bishops as an example, upbraiding it for failing to question the legitimacy of the system.

In this, of course, the Synod bishops are in what they would regard as good company. The same Platonic refusal to face existential realities limits the value of Pope Paul's generally excellent encyclical on the Development of Peoples (*Populorum Progressio*) and his letter commemorating the 80th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. In passing, that letter did have one major breakthrough, a formal endorsement of the Marxist analysis as a tool legitimately usable by a Christian.

Even more confused and confusing was the attitude on this point of the Medellin Statements (1968) of the bishops of Latin America. They incorporated fully the critical—and Marxist-inspired—analysis of Latin American society made by Camilo Torres and other progressives. They then offered a band-aid solution, a restructuring of the economy according to "the directives of the social magisterium of the church." The limit of the daring of those directives was to call on businessmen and the political authorities "to modify radically their system of values, attitudes and methods." If there is one

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WORRIED AND WORRISOME NIXON

One month into their long-anticipated offensive, the North Vietnamese had proved strategists wrong in several directions on the matter of Vietnamization. First, they had proved wrong the President and his partisans in the first real test of a policy Mr. Nixon declared accomplished a year ago. "Consequently, tonight I can report that Vietnamization has succeeded," the President told the nation April 8, 1971. Not only had it not succeeded, but it developed into the biggest bust since McNamara's electronic wall. In demonstrating that point, the North Vietnamese had also put a hole in the logic of some credulous critics of the President. For Vietnamization wasn't a realistic plan after all for continuing the war under other guises and with other bodies, however much it was intended. It was a scenario that had no chance whatsoever if the "enemy" failed to follow the orchestration, or if one's surrogate failed to perform. Mr. Nixon's grand score failed embarrassingly on both counts; the North Vietnamese decline to be programmed by Washington, and the South Vietnamese have apparently lost the will for an endless war they must fight themselves—if, indeed, they ever had it.

These developments were no less than what Washington merits; there would have to be some divine suspension of the working of justice for the United States to be able to exit Vietnam on its terms and with its own claims fulfilled. On the other hand, the developments created a terribly scary situation, for the withdrawal had drastically weakened the American bargaining position for a settlement (presuming, of course, that the U.S. is willing to return to the negotiating table and to bargain seriously, as it has not done to date), and driven the President to incomprehensible militant postures. Now we have the incredible decision to mine all North Vietnamese ports and interdict delivery of rail supplies, and one wonders to what further lengths the President might go.

Mr. Nixon frequently indicates that he has no intention of reintroducing American troops into Vietnam or using nuclear weapons to redeem the worsening situation, but even if he does not change his mind on those points (and he is vacillating already on the former), so many possibilities remain as to chill the soul. Making matters the more worrisome is the Nixon psyche; he has gotten himself so hung up on personal and Presidential fixations that there is no putting anything beyond him. It is an ominous

Commonweal:

state when the President of the United States makes not only foes quake, but friends and his own people. Yet such is the situation. Syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft finds Nixon "so wound up in his own need to prove himself that I come away from the recent events with a sick feeling in the pit of my stomach." Anthony Lewis reported Londoners deeply fearful that this "insecure President" will order some terrible and perilous new blow "to salve his pride with revenge." And James Reston was moved to express hope that Hanoi wouldn't press its fortunes too far, as there was no way to "calculate what Mr. Nixon will do if he is trapped." How many Americans anticipated the day when their President would strike fear instead of confidence into their hearts?

It would be consolation if in all of this President Nixon were exercising decision and power through the Congress, but his reliance on personal diplomacy and a Presidential staff accountable to no one but himself heightens reason for concern. As the *New York Times'* Tom Wicker noted the morning after the mining speech, Mr. Nixon has so situated himself that in taking to the airwaves "no real way existed to stop him from following some apocalyptic course."

In his premature Vietnamization victory speech of a year ago, Mr. Nixon declared that he expected to be held accountable by the American people, if he failed to end American involvement in the Vietnam war as he had "pledged" in his campaign. Hopefully he will be held accountable, but the question is whether events can wait that long. Nixon is moving America and the world nearer to precipices from which there may be no pulling back.

The road out of Vietnam is still through Paris, but instead Mr. Nixon is giving us a politics of paranoia bound up with some messianic views about "respect for the Presidency." The two indeed do lend that touch of irrationality which is said to have impressed Khrushchev in John Foster Dulles and prompted him to make concessions. But this is brinksmanship, and it is not what the American people or the world can stand any more of, and not just because the North Vietnamese, as distinct from Khrushchev, are not likely to become more flexible in the face of threat. The world demands sanity and sincerity of the United States, and if Mr. Nixon does not begin to provide these soon, he will place the United States outside the pale of civilized nations.



MINTOFF VS. BRITAIN

MALTA'S EASTER OF TRIUMPH

Easter in Malta this year was more than usually joyous; in addition to celebrating the resurrection of Christ, churches in this fervently Catholic archipelago of three small islands in the dead center of the Mediterranean were asked by the Archbishop, Mgr. Michael Gonzi, to celebrate an Hour of Adoration as thanksgiving for the successful conclusion of nine months of torturous and bitter negotiations between the British Government and Malta's Labor Party government headed by 56-year-old Prime Minister Dom Mintoff. Both Gonzi and Mintoff, whose party was interdicted for years and party publications prohibited to Catholics, had worked together to force Britain, pressured by an anxious NATO, to sign the agreement which permits British armed forces to use Maltese bases for a final seven-year period in return for annual rent of £14 million (\$36 million).

Malta had been a bastion of the British Empire for more than 170 years without ever receiving a penny in rent for the use of its massive fortifications, even after the country's independence on September 21, 1964. There was every indication that, had not Mintoff's MLP won the general elections in June 1971, this happy state of affairs would have continued indefinitely, although with the continued closure of the Suez Canal since the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, the British military were far less interested in Malta. But NATO, especially Italy and

the United States, whose aging vessels of the 6th Fleet still precariously dominate the Mediterranean, were concerned about the growing and ultra-modern Soviet fleet in the area. This NATO anxiety was so great that, when the British stubbornly refused to pay more and were in fact evacuating their forces and dependents from the country, the Alliance agreed to put up the additional money.

The accord would never have been reached without the cooperation of the church with its once-hated rivals in the Malta Labor Party. The 86-year-old Archbishop Gonzi personally flew to London and Rome when it appeared that the talks had broken down to convince officials of Britain, Italy and NATO that the church stood behind Mintoff. It was widely believed that the British, knowing quite well that Mintoff had solemnly promised his people never to permit their country to be used as either an American, Italian or Russian base, were going to pull out and hope for the rapid collapse of the Government, which has only a one-vote majority in the 55-seat House of Representatives, and its replacement by the conservative and docile Nationalist Party, headed by Dr. George Borg Olivier, which was expected to beg for the British return under any conditions, however humiliating.

It had been Borg Olivier who had led Malta to inde-

pendence and whose government had signed in 1964 the defense and financial treaties that nearly brought the country to ruin. During the lengthy negotiations for a new agreement, Borg Olivier's Nationalist Party, now in the opposition, pleaded with Mintoff not to antagonize the British Government and to accept the "final offer" put forward by British Prime Minister Edward Heath. When Mintoff triumphantly read the statement on the accord to the House of Representatives, a dispirited Borg Olivier could not come up with a single question, nor a word of praise for the Government.

In his statement and a subsequent televised speech to the nation, Mintoff said this victory was due to the courage and perseverance of the workers' movement which had remained united in the country's big General Workers' Union and the Labor Party and had stood behind the Government. He then praised other Maltese citizens, among them the Archbishop, who of their own free will and by their own means contributed their efforts so that Malta might win. Abroad, Mintoff said "our Libyan brethren stood shoulder to shoulder with us more than anybody else." It had been ready cash supplied by the neighboring North African country, whose foreign policy objectives are similar to Malta's, that permitted the hard-pressed Maltese to meet current expenses during the crisis. Finally, the Prime Minister thanked the Italian Government for its "unconditional support."

In an editorial, the right-wing British *Daily Telegraph* pronounced the agreement "satisfactory," but deplored the pressures from NATO and Italy, whose Christian Democratic caretaker government had been "loath to provide the permanent alternative facilities in Sicily" for the British forces based on Malta, especially the Royal Air Force reconnaissance squadrons that attempt to keep tabs on Soviet fleet movements in the Mediterranean. The liberal Sunday paper, *The Observer*, commented: "It is not only Mr. Mintoff who is now looking forward, at the end of seven years, to getting rid of the base and the presence of thousands of troops and their families. Britain has the same interest in winding up this commitment." The liberal paper declared that Malta really needed development aid, not foreign troops, but then displayed its profound ignorance of the Maltese situation by adding: "Malta's employment problem is, of course, exacerbated by her over-population, which in turn is largely due to the hold that the Roman Catholic church has over the island. Until this grip is broken, or until the church is driven to see the need for a change in its attitude towards birth control, Mr. Mintoff's task is going to be very uphill work."

With a population of some 320,000 in a total territory of 122 square miles, Malta indeed has a high density of population, but she also has one of the lowest birth rates in Europe. And emigration, especially after the British began cutting down the size of their bases in 1961, rose so rapidly that nearly all agricultural workers left the

second largest island, Gozo, and some of the most skilled workers—many from the former Royal Navy drydocks in Valletta's Grand Harbor—emigrated to Britain or Australia. And, most important of all, as the unhappy Maltese Nationalist Party was well aware, Mintoff's 1971 election victory had been the result of a profound change in the attitude of the church towards Maltese Socialists.

Church and State

Despite the previous interdiction on the MLP, many thousands of Maltese had continued to vote Socialist. Families were divided and many younger priests doubted the wisdom of the policy of seeking to destroy the MLP. The Vatican itself appears to have interceded and the Archbishop Coadjutor, Msgr. Emmanuel Gerada, sought and reached an agreement with the MLP in Easter 1969, in which the church undertook not to interfere in local politics, while the MLP promised to uphold Malta's Christian principles and traditions.

At the same time, stung by Mintoff's attacks on the church for seeming indifference to social and economic injustice, a group of young priests launched a campaign for reform of the church administration and finances. Guided at first by an American, Apostolic Visitor Mgr. Luigi Ligutti, delegate of the Holy See to the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome, and later by Mgr. Marie-Josette Lemieux, a French Canadian Archbishop, the reform movement after three years of hard work presented Pope Paul with a Basic Document of the Reform of the Financial Administration of the Church in Malta. The Papal approval is eagerly awaited. "Never has a Papal Bull been so awaited in Malta since Pope Pius V gave his blessing towards the building of Valletta in 1566," commented Reno Calleja, a leading Maltese journalist.

There is no conflict between church and state. The Constitution of Malta specifically protects the property of the church. The only dispute between Mintoff and the church over property had involved the ownership of Caravaggio's masterpiece, "The Beheading of John the Baptist," which hangs in the Oratory of the Co-Cathedral in Valletta. After restoring the neglected painting at government expense, Mintoff had sought to hang it in the National Museum, but the threat of excommunication prompted him to return the painting to the Archbishop.

For the church, the more serious struggle has been internal. McKinsey and Company, British consultants brought from London by Mgr. Ligutti, found the financial administration of the church in a woeful state. Although owner of 1/16th of all land, this church property was administered by over 250 independent administrators and produced a revenue far lower than it should. Some poor priests had to eke out an existence on an annual income of less than \$800 a year. The proposed

reforms call for centralized financial administration, open accounting of church funds and the preparation of an annual budget so as to permit the church in Malta to contribute more to the social and economic well-being of the general population, as well as improving the living conditions of poor clergymen.

On the Government side, even after the agreement with Britain, reforms are equally pressing. Despite the \$36 million in rent, the Maltese budget still faces a deficit of nearly \$29 million this year. Coping with this deficit and obtaining development funds explains Mintoff's rapid departure, almost immediately after his return from London, for China. Surprisingly, despite a lingering infatuation with Chiang Kai-shek's regime on Taiwan among some Maltese conservatives, most Maltese approved the trip to Peking. Fr. Angelo Seychell, one of the editors of the church-owned Maltese-language daily, *Il-Hajja*, said he personally had found Chinese aid to underdeveloped countries to be highly advantageous, and he was far more apprehensive about the possible establishment of a Soviet Embassy in Valletta than a Chinese one. There is only a miniscule pro-Moscow Communist party of Malta at present, but Seychell feared future Soviet-subsidized efforts to split the MLP and topple Mintoff, who is a staunch Social-Democrat, from the leadership. In any case, the China visit paid off with the Chinese promise of \$20 to 30 million in aid spread over a period of five years. But Malta will need much more aid from other quarters if it is to reduce the number of its unemployed—at an all-time high of 7,859 jobless in March 1972—and prepare for a future without foreign troops.

The agreement signed with Britain, despite the financial contribution from NATO, only permits 3,000 British troops to be based on the island, the Royal Navy the use of Grand Harbor and Marsaxlokk Harbor and the R.A.F. to operate from Malta's two airfields. No other NATO forces can use the island's facilities without a bilateral agreement with the Maltese Government. The agreement specifically prohibited Malta from granting bases to Warsaw Pact forces. On the other hand, the British are enjoined from using the bases for any operations against an Arab country.

Italy has little interest in a base in Malta. She, like the U.S. Government, was mainly concerned to prevent Soviet military bases from being established in Malta. In the past, the sailors of the U.S. 6th Fleet have not been received with great enthusiasm in Malta. Mintoff's aged father was once beaten up by a gang of drunken American seamen and the reputation of the sailors of the 6th Fleet is very low in all quarters of the island, except the bar owners and brothel keepers of Valletta and Gzira. American aid to Malta, on the other hand, is expected to be conditional on the Government's lifting the ban on visits of the 6th Fleet. Malta's Catholics are deeply concerned and have expressed the hope that, if

the Americans are allowed to visit, their numbers will be severely limited, their stay brief and their conduct strictly disciplined.

Of course, the United States can make a significant contribution towards putting the Maltese economy on a sounder footing, but Mintoff hopes to obtain aid from many other countries, France, Italy, West Germany, perhaps the Scandinavian countries and the Soviet Union, as well as a major contribution from Libya and the League of Arab States. But, above all, Maltese are hoping for comprehension of their long-term objectives of removing all military bases from their country and eventually removing the Soviet, British and American fleets from the Mediterranean, which could then become a nuclear-free "Sea of Peace."

Speaking in response to China's Premier Chou En-lai at a Peking banquet in his honor, Dom Mintoff summed up the position of Malta: "We have no illusions. We live in one of the most delicate and most difficult regions of the world where for many years now, the superpowers have been contenting for supremacy. We live in a Mediterranean Sea which has been successfully split North and South, where a war between Arabs and Israelis has unscrupulously been exploited for political ends. As this smallest nation in the world, unarmed and almost bankrupt, we know what little chance we have when we measure our material strength against the might of the giants who criss-cross along the Mediterranean Sea in their mighty fleets. But we also know that many nations of this world are now realizing how futile it is for big powers to try to impose their will upon the free peoples of smaller nations." Whatever the judgment of some concerning Mintoff's allegedly "unpredictable and irascible character," these do not seem the words of a statesman seeking to sell his country to anyone, but rather to preserve and strengthen a precarious and still not completely realized independence.

RICHARD GIBSON

(Richard Gibson, a previous contributor, is a correspondent for Tuesday Publications in London.)

NEXT WEEK

GEORGE H. DUNNE writes about Charlie Chaplin and Hollywood in the '40s:

"The thing that first impressed me about Chaplin when I met him was his simplicity of manner. If, thanks to the prevailing hysteria of McCarthyism and the sensationalized paternity suit, he was, as has been said, at the nadir of public esteem, he had not fallen from the heights of fame. His lofty place, as artist and particularly as incomparable mime, in the pantheon of the entertainment arts was securely established. There was no hint of this in his easy, informal and friendly manner. He was totally without affectation."

A POLITICS OF FAMILY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

MICHAEL NOVAK

A politics based on family and neighborhood would be a creative force in America. It would appeal to and draw out the best from the largest number of Americans. In most ethnic groups, family and neighborhood are the primary social realities, the focus of aspiration and social contentment.

Such a politics would also prevent the interposition of new bureaucracies, based on castes of experts, into the routines of ordinary life. Wherever there are experts, there is arrogance. Wherever there are experts, ordinary people tend to lose their social skills. Their social structures tend to grow, not stronger, but weaker and more dependent.

A politics based on family and neighborhood would examine every political problem with one criterion uppermost. It would not be the only criterion, nor would it always be the determinative one. But it would be the primary test for a political proposal: Does it help, or does it penalize, families and neighborhoods?

Four main political problems might be the cutting edge of such a politics. In the first place, neighborhoods at present receive no social rewards for integration. They receive only penalties. Garbage is not picked up as regularly, street lights are not repaired, building improvements are not made, banks will not make improvement loans. *Newsday* reported April 19 how realtors on Long Island panicked white families on one street into selling their homes at \$8000. The realtors then sold to blacks at \$13,000. Everyone suffers but realtors.

Abuses in mortgage agencies (the FHA, for one), in banking practices, and in real estate agencies are destroying neighborhoods. This is stupid social policy, foolish politics. In some ethnic groups, almost the whole family economic investment is put into home and neighborhood. Stability—not mobility

—is the primary value. To destroy such neighborhoods is not to destroy bits of geography, but the souls and self-identity of people.

The primary problem in most such areas is not race. It is economics. Racial integration at present, in most places, brings economic deterioration. This does not *need* to happen. It won't if neighborhoods get help. Integration is a social good. It should be rewarded.

Secondly, take the example of child care centers. Child care programs are needed because the old extended family has broken up. Grandmother, Aunt Genevieve, Uncle Jake—who was too eccentric to hold a job but wonderful with the children—have been put away in appropriate ghettos. Economically, the family that wants to stay together, three generations in the same household, is penalized. Emotionally, too, rewards no longer reinforce the old patterns.

As a result, the new phenomenon—the small nuclear family—discovers that it cannot easily survive. As every other culture in history has discovered, child care is too much for two parents alone. Child care is done best as a social matter. Children need more than two adult models; they penetrate the defenses of two far too quickly. And in lower-middle-class families, wives must work or husbands hold two jobs in order to survive economically.

The liberal solution would be to create a new bureaucracy: child care professionals or para-professionals. Why not try, instead, to reward families and neighborhoods that take care of their own children? Elderly family members could receive subsidies or their household could receive tax rewards for the time spent in child care. If members of a neighborhood took turns watching the children, they too, could be rewarded. Links of familiarity between children and neighbors

would be strengthened. The morale of the elderly would be bolstered enormously. Economic burdens would be lifted. The atomization ravaging American life would be reversed.

The more resources that pour into local, ordinary networks between people, the less alienation there will be. Instead of hiring outsiders, people will receive rewards for caring for their own. Government will strengthen families and neighborhoods, rather than take more and more of their functions from them.

Thirdly, the question of abortion. I do not hesitate to oppose Catholic teaching on birth control. But whatever the church might teach on abortion, I find abortion an immoral, technical solution to a human problem. We destroy a fetus in order to save it from unhappiness. It seems to me a crime against life, born of the same spirit that brought us Vietnam. I believe it is murder.

Since other citizens, whose judgment and moral sensibilities I admire, do *not* find abortion an assault upon human life—they think of a fetus as so much chemical, so much cellular organism, mere “property”—I can understand the desire to have laws permitting abortion. I am not inclined to *oppose* their efforts to get such laws. I cannot bring myself to *help* them.

Yet if government must get into an area where consciences are divided, would not a politics of family and neighborhood entail government support for *both* types of conscience? If abortion is to be permitted, should not social rewards go to people, in whatever circumstance, who *choose* to have their babies? At present, in all sorts of circumstances, new infants are a great social burden: among the unmarried, among the desperately poor, in the case of ill or emotionally

(Continued on page 271)



LIVING TOGETHER: THE RELIGIOUS DILEMMA

RAYMOND A. SCHROTH

One of the central problems in religious life is the problem of community

A recent essay, privately circulated among American Jesuits, argued that the religious vows, besides binding a man to God, also implicitly commit him to a specific group of his fellow-men. A Jesuit vows that he will not let his brother Jesuits down. This emphasis may come at just the right time for many men and women who belong to religious communities—a time when, rightly or wrongly, many religious in all age groups feel “betrayed.”

They *feel* betrayed: by a theological training that once offered them absolute certainties and now gives them unanswered speculative questions about the Eucharist and the resurrection; by administrators and faculty who have secularized and liberalized their educational institutions in the quest for state money or in “gutless” capitulation to student demands; by fellow priests and religious who have shared their labor and their leisure but have now left the cloister camaraderie to marry, to love, and to relish that assurance of immortality that only children can bring; by religious leaders who have refused to lead, either to discipline the “revolutionaries” or to convince the reactionaries that religious communities must reform.

After extensive conversations with religious in many communities in different parts of the country, I suggest that one of the central problems in religious life is, in a new way, the problem of community life. I am assuming what some may deny: that community life is a value, not just a convenience. It is an absolute necessity for a living of the vows. I assume that the quality of religious life can be gauged both by how well religious men or women live together and by how obvious their apostolic charity is to those outside the community. I am also assuming

that the *individual* witness of the vows is hardly enough, that the community as a totality should show itself to be apostolically poor, chaste and obedient. This can not be just in the negative sense; the vows must become a creative force.

As it is, community life offers its share of actual dangers—the same dangers, on an institutional scale, which Fr. John Courtney Murray, S.J., attributed to the vows in a little-known conference he gave at Woodstock College over twenty-five years ago. He said that in entering religion a man avoids what he called the “triple encounter,” the struggle with the elemental forces. Because he is cared for by the community, by the vow of poverty a man is redeemed from “the struggle with the earth”; but the man who lives off the collectivity receives security without a struggle and can become irresponsible, less a man. By obedience he ceases to be self-directed and may escape forever the hard encounter with himself. By chastity he declines encounter with woman, and may grow dry and cold. “Man risks becoming a disembodied head, that fancies itself the whole thing when it is not . . . Your typical bachelor is proverbially crotchety, emotionally unstable, petulant and self-enclosed—small and childish in the emotional life. Your religious risks being the same. The chaste spirit risks being also the childish spirit.” (*Woodstock Letters*, Fall 1967.)

Rollo May describes somewhat the same phenomenon in *Man's Search for Himself* when he turns to those people with strong religious backgrounds who have developed what he calls “the divine right to be taken care of.”

They have been taught that happiness and success would follow their “being good,” the latter generally interpreted as being obedient. But being obedient

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. . . undermines the development of an individual's ethical awareness and inner strength. By being obedient to external requirements over a long period of time, he loses his real powers of ethical responsible choice. Strange as it sounds, then, the powers of these people to achieve goodness and the joy which goes with it are diminished. And since happiness is not the reward of virtue, as Spinoza remarked, but virtue itself, the person who surrenders his ethical autonomy has relinquished to the same degree his power to attain virtue and happiness. No wonder he feels resentful.

This may be the heart of the "betrayal" anxiety so many members of religious communities feel. For years they were led to believe that in some way the hundredfold of the Gospels would be found in perpetual, stable, secure community life—the consequence of doing God's will. Now they are told that the institutions to which they gave some good years of their lives with low pay and little thanks are no longer "theirs." It may be true that religious men should not have felt that any *thing* was theirs. But that doesn't solve the problem. The community, then, has an awesome job—preserving the essence of the religious life while saving its members from the very dangers it creates.

What Is Asked of Community?

This is particularly difficult in the present drifting state of the church. As individuals, most religious who are still "in" may have come through this last decade of change with enough self-confidence to know what they want to do with their lives; but how can religious men (or women) live together in some kind of creative harmony (or even tension) when there is no longer a consensus as to how they should live? Many houses are divided not only on important issues like the liturgy, patriotism, authority, civil disobedience, the loss of faith and the alleged decline of their institutions, but also on apparently trivial issues which can assume a bizarre symbolic importance—who has private cars, who wears a necktie, and who wants to invite what guest into the community dining room. (It should be acknowledged at this point that things like this divide *every family*. The difference is that religious orders, perhaps with more idealism than wisdom, set their goals very high.)

I have stressed the word *feel* because the problem is seldom discussed on a purely rational level. The tension reaches into a man's deepest convictions about his vocation and vows: his need for material things, books, travel, etc. to do his scholarship vs. his obligation to share in some way the life of the poor; his need to be alone vs. his vulnerability, his openness to intimate friends and to strangers; his need to achieve status and prove himself as a professional vs. his readiness to sacri-

fice his own ambitions and convenience, to change and move on.

Meanwhile, he must live with other men—men he might not have naturally chosen for companions but whom he believes God, in some mysterious way, has chosen for him. So, a man's religious community, like a family, can be one of several things: a physical and emotional support for his apostolic work; a comfortably stifling subculture—described by one man as a "velvet well"—which gradually snuffs out the very spirit it is meant to protect; or just a neutral force, a clerical hotel where a teaching priest can enjoy his preprandial, dinner and bridge game when he's not marking papers or writing a talk.

The situation will become more complicated, however, because religious are beginning to ask *more* from community life. A decade ago the religious community was expected to provide stability, security, a proper celebration of feast days and a place to say private Mass. They more or less fulfilled Robert Frost's definition of "home" in "Death of a Hired Man." Now a new American culture and a new religious consciousness seem to demand that the community become several things: through its simplicity, openness and charity, a sign of contradiction standing against the materialism, property-obsession, sensuality, ambition and power-hunger of the dominant culture; a haven for prophets and non-conformists who fight lonely battles for unpopular causes (How many communities will welcome the Berrigans and their religious "co-conspirators"?); a "family" of brothers where each member knows the other personally, confronts him honestly, shares his property, his prayer and his pain, and welcomes his guests. That may be asking too much. It may be argued that the religious who want that kind of intimacy and warm acceptance should get a wife. Yet, prayer and dialogue tend to fire the yearning religious people have for something more than the impersonality, surface tranquility and sterile malaise that characterizes religious houses in the stories of Elizabeth Cullinan and J. F. Powers.

The large communities—some as large as 100—attached to old universities have special problems worth examining. Their real advantages include the good company of intelligent and dedicated professional men, the inspiration of some old retired men who remain active, cheerful and kind, the convenience of a good table, etc., provided by generous superiors to fortify men in their work. But younger religious, now fewer in number, who have grown accustomed in their training to small-group living, find the big houses cold—sometimes hostile. On the campuses, college students, 98 percent of whom have never penetrated the cloister, dub these structures Hiltons and Kremlins and wonder what they are doing right in the middle of the campus if they intend to keep emphasizing their isolation. (Two years ago a student returning from the beer cellar used to shout obscenities at

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the Jesuit residence every Friday night at 2 A.M. One night I caught him and asked if there was something he'd like to discuss. He replied that he was not the regular screamer—just his substitute!)

Meanwhile, the handful of new men coming along, who prefer more "personal" and open living situations, will refuse to live in the big houses. If this trend develops, the average age of the community members will go up. As priests retire from the university and are replaced by laymen the community income will go down; the houses will take on the atmosphere of half-empty retirement homes. The generations will become more separated than ever—and both will suffer from the separation. At the same time, the small communities—many of which are being founded in negative reaction to the big houses—are no Utopias. Close quarters don't guarantee communication. Time that might be better spent



studying and writing is spent shopping and cooking. Their members will be isolated from the political influence large communities enjoy, and everyone will miss the constructive criticism available as part of the larger group. And there may also be a touch of guilt, the liberal's perpetual qualm—the possibility that they should have worked harder to gradually transform the traditional structure.

Of course if it is clear that there is no future for large houses one solution would be for superiors to decide that they can no longer sustain these operations, that it seems better to create mixed communities of older and younger men on a smaller, family-like, scale, and deliberately phase out the campus Hiltons in a dignified way, turning them over to the universities as faculty clubs, student centers and dorms.

I have not intended to print too bleak a picture. At the moment I am one of the few people I know under forty who believe large houses should be saved. As I indicated, they have traditions and qualities that could be preserved if they view themselves a little differently. I realize that adapting what is considered an antiquated structure does not in itself solve the personal problems associated with the feeling of betrayal. Yet, in so far as the negative aspects of religious institutions have reinforced a specific sub-culture that actually hinders the religious spirit, renewing and reforming the structures is

at least a step in the right direction. If a community is suffering from exaggerated isolation from what Fr. Murray called the elemental forces, it should try to break the isolation. Furthermore, the reform should spring from the community's shared apostolic purpose and be in accord with other reforms already under way to make religious more responsible and self-directed.

A good course of action would be to adapt the large houses to their contexts, consider them in their potentially apostolic dimension, rethink the common doctrine that teaching *alone* is sufficient apostolic activity, and modestly restructure them as apostolic centers. This could take various forms, depending on the willingness of the community itself. Some have already made modest gestures in this direction. One has removed cloister from half the residence so that students and friends can meet the priests in their rooms. Some others, like Georgetown, allow student dinner guests on a regular basis. Others have sponsored student-faculty receptions and lectures in the community meeting rooms. I recently said a Christmas liturgy at a small Catholic woman's college where the nuns invited the girls into their residence for the celebration. To the lay reader it may seem strange that basic hospitality should be considered a step forward in the religious life. But that's the way it is. There is a strong tradition in Benedictine monasticism that every guest is Christ himself; but this admirable tradition has not universally caught on.

Another possibility would be to follow the example of some houses in Europe and rearrange the communities to allow for a plurality of subcommunities: a secluded section for those most concerned with privacy and scholarship; a section for seminarians in their studies; a section for lay faculty and their families who might like a religious atmosphere; corridors where faculty could live with students in a living-learning situation; a daily liturgy and a common dining room, and some effort to schedule lectures and discussions on religious and ethical topics for the whole campus. In short, the community would see itself as apostolic in the pastoral and not just the academic sense, as a Christian leaven on a campus now bored with the Faith.

All this presupposes that the religious life in its public manifestation must be attractive, that the more one is exposed to religious men the more one will be drawn to the Jesus who has drawn them. As Fr. Murray and Rollo May, and nearly anyone who has lived in a religious house, knows, we haven't solved—and never will solve—all our human personality problems. Yet, we might be encouraged to do better. Especially since so much is at stake.

There is, of course, a third course of action. Wait and do nothing. I could be wrong, but if nothing is done I predict that within ten years religious superiors of large cloistered communities will become overseers of separate tables in Victorian hotels.

WHITHER ECONOMIC POLICY?

EUGENE J. MCCARTHY

We must take a new and hard look at economic problems, also at economics.

There is trouble in the economics community. The two generally recognized schools of economics—the liberal and the conservative—are challenging each other's theories, interpretations and projections. Within the separate schools, especially within the liberal one, there is disagreement which falls somewhere between anarchy and civil war.

More serious than these disagreements is the fact that economists are questioning their own disciplines. The width and depth of this questioning is reflected in six articles appearing in the January 22 issue of *The Saturday Review* under the title "Does Economics Ignore You?"

The first of the six articles is by Leonard Silk, economist and editorial writer for *The New York Times*. He opens his article with a convenient quotation from Edmund Burke: "The age of chivalry is gone. That of the sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished forever." Seeming to approve Burke's judgment, Silk then asks in his own name, "But is the age of the economist already come to an end?" He does not give a clear answer to the question but goes on to say that the methodology of "conventional economics," which he defines as the science of choice, is inadequate and that for the solution or the more effective dealing with economic problems there must be a deeper understanding of many matters that lie beyond the boundaries of conventional economics. He suggests that economics may disappear before it has proved itself even within the limits of its own defined competence.

Mr. Silk is followed by Daniel Fustfeld, of the University of Michigan, who does not see economics as disappearing but as being in serious trouble. He starts his analysis at least two stages beyond the stage at which President Nixon says he has arrived. Economics, Fustfeld says, is post post-Keynesian, which is roughly the same as being one stage beyond Walter Heller or post-Walter Heller. The thrust of Fustfeld's article is that the synthesis of the macro-economics of John Maynard Keynes, with the micro-economics of Alfred Marshall and his followers, incarnated in Paul Samuelson and formulated by Samuelson in mathematical formulae, has been shattered. The synthesis has now become the thesis

and must be challenged. Fustfeld comes very close to saying that Samuelson's book *Economics*, a required text in many introductory courses in economics, should be banned if not burned. In concluding his article, Mr. Fustfeld, sounding more like a Presidential candidate than like an economist, declares that "the problems of the present indicate the path to the future," and calls upon everyone, including the economists, to devote their energies to the cause of establishing a humane economy on a worldwide scale.

The next entrant, starting in the third position, is Robert Lekachman of New York State University at Stony Brook. His opinion, the editors of *The Saturday Review* say, is that economists and politicians entertain fantasies about who gets what and why in the operation of the American economy. Mr. Lekachman, however, does not write about these fantasies, if they exist, but rather analyzes Phase II of the President's economic program in terms of what it shows about who controls the economy of this country and how and to what ends. He concludes, quite rightly in my opinion, that unless economists take into account the realities of who does control and who does make the major policy decisions about the economy, their disciplines will become less and less relevant. As evidence of the rightness of his judgment, I cite the almost uncritical acceptance by the Congress of the tripartite Wage and Price Control Board, made up of Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Government (the last labeled public representation). Operating with slight constitutional or statutory authority, the Board contains the two elements of classical fascist government: Big Labor and Big Business. The third one, Big Military, is indirectly and partially represented through the public or governmental members.

Lekachman's conclusion seems to be that if we knew more about who controls production or the economic life of America, we might be on the way to solving basic economic problems. The fact is that we do know who they are and what their policies are. They are the big corporation, big labor and the government. There is little reason to believe that if any one of the three forces, assumed to be important by the fact that they are being included on the President's Wage-Price Board, were to emerge as predominant that the economic policies of the country would be significantly different from what they now are. Lekachman's case is basically anti-economic in

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its thrust. It discounts the value of economics except in the context of other knowledge and disciplines which must be brought to bear on what are too easily called "economic problems."

Starting in gate four is Marc J. Roberts of Harvard who opens up all questions of philosophy in the second, third and fourth sentences of his article when he asks: "Do people always know exactly what they 'really' want, no matter how complex the options?" "Will people always choose what makes them 'happiest' or 'best off'?" "Are individual choices effectively immune from outside influence and manipulation?" Economic theory, he says, is built upon the assumption that there are simple and clear answers to each of these questions. Then he says that there are no simple and clear answers and that since human responses cannot be predicted with that degree of accuracy which would be necessary if economics were to be accorded scientific status, we can no longer avoid intellectual and moral decisions about production, distribution and consumption by escaping into a pseudoscience but must face up to those problems in the real world of individual and social decision.

The fifth participant in the series is Robert Solo of Michigan State. He says that the trouble with economics is that it has been mathematized and that consequently



its concepts placed beyond the test of reality. Since his fellow contributors, Roberts and Silk, say there is no real certainty about the concepts even before they are mathematized, it would seem that the trouble is not in mathematizing them but in attributing certainty and objectivity to the concepts themselves. Mathematizing them could only compound the error and, of course, also give a false sense of objectivity. He concludes with a rather esoteric observation that being out-of-date may be to be in-tune. His conclusion is that the answer to economic problems must be found outside of economics as a defined science.

The sixth piece is by Charles Schultze, who was director of the Bureau of the Budget under President Johnson and now, as they say, not "with" but "of" the Brookings Institution, not *Institute*.

Why some organizations are called *Institutes*, like Carnegie, and others are called *Institutions*, like the Smithsonian and the Brookings, is not clear. *Institution* does sound more certain, more permanent, and more absolute

than *Institute*. Why Mr. Schultze is "of" and not "with" the Institution raises another question. People are said to be *with* the government; for example, *with* the Department of Agriculture. Mr. Schultze used to be *with* the Bureau of the Budget. He is now *of* the Brookings Institution. The explanation may be theological. Angels, for example, are *of* a particular choir (of the Cherubim or of the Seraphim) not *with* it as a violinist might be said to be *with* the New York Philharmonic.

In any case, Mr. Schultze is still *for* economics. But speaking somewhat sadly, much as Chesterton did when he said that Christianity had not failed but that it had not been tried, Schultze says of economics that it is not obsolete but rather underemployed.

What are we to do? Certainly we must take a new and hard look at economic problems and also at economics.

Some 20 to 25 million Americans, depending upon what standard of measurement is used, are today classed as poor. Approximately 12 million persons are out of work, and several million more are underemployed.

The economy of the United States is not producing enough to meet the needs of both war and peace. It is not effectively distributing what is being produced. It is not providing work for millions.

We must ask these questions:

Is the theoretical basis upon which the economy operates sound?

Or is the fault in the management of business and economic affairs?

Or is the difficulty because of outside interference, principally by government?

The answer to each question is a mixed one.

First, we must acknowledge the weaknesses of economic theory as noted by the economists writing for *The Saturday Review*. We have known that there were limitations to economics as a science since economists first began to write about the economics of imperfect competition. We know also that the usefulness of economics as an applied science was significantly reduced with the development and application of Pavlovian psychology and high pressure advertising. Other forces, principally political ones, have also impinged upon economics until today economics is about one part economic theory, one part individual and social psychology, and one part politics.

Although the day of the dominant position of the economist as principal adviser to the head of state (even DeGaulle was reported to have had an economic adviser) as Walter Heller was in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, may have passed, and Presidential advisers now in vogue are political and in the tradition of the Austro-Hungarian empire, economics is still useful but its limitations must be recognized.

Tax cuts, increased federal spending, larger federal deficits, limited wage and price controls—that is, Phase

II—will almost certainly give a temporary lift to the economy, but they will not significantly affect the basic dislocation in the American economy. Statistically, in 1972 the Nixon Administration may appear to be winning the economic war over inflation, underemployment and underproduction, but it is in much the same way that Secretary McNamara used to claim statistical gains, if not victory, in the Vietnam war in 1967 and 1968.

The results of Phase II will be a victory of appearance and measure numbers rather than one of reality or of substance. What is called for are positive decisions, political and social:

First, to raise the level of existence of the poor in the United States.

Second, to require American industry and finance to meet their responsibilities for the operation of the American economy. Labor unions, too, must be required to respond to economic and social needs.

Third, there must be a redirection and redevelopment of resources by government decision and by private decision away from wasteful military expenditures, wasteful space efforts, unnecessary highway building. And in the private sector also there must be such redirection, especially with reference to the automobile industry and culture in which wasted resources, manpower, money, and even life are everywhere evident.

The President of the United States need not be his own Secretary of State. He should be his own economist and, if he is not, he should consult John Kenneth Galbraith.

AN OLDER STYLE

THE SCREEN

What do *The Last Picture Show*, *The Boy Friend*, *Cabaret*, *The Godfather*, *Gumshoe*, *Minnie and Moskowitz*, *Play It Again, Sam*, and *What's Up, Doc?* have in common? They're all biggies this season, and they all play on, or play off, our nostalgia for an older kind of moviemaking. Peter Bogdanovich established the style with *The Last Picture Show*, which was the first picture show to score a hit last fall. Then *The Boy Friend* came along as a revival of *Forty-Second Street*, and *The Blue Angel* reopened as the *Cabaret*. *The Godfather* was a pastiche of no one gangster film in particular and all of them put together. *Minnie and Moskowitz*, *Gumshoe* and *Play It Again, Sam* have all established their credentials with imitations or actual clips of scenes in old Bogart films. And now Bogdanovich has completed this cycle-circle with a film advertised as a brand new, old-fashioned screwball comedy.

What's Up, Doc?, Bogdanovich's title, is what Bugs Bunny always used to say. Judy Maxwell (Barbra Streisand), the girl who always says "What's Up, Doc?" in this film, does a lot of things that Bugs Bunny would love, too. At one point, for instance, she joy-rides Howard Bannister (Ryan O'Neal) on the front of a bicycle delivery cart. But that routine really looks more like one that's in Howard Hawks' *Bringing Up Baby*, where Katherine Hepburn is ridden on the handle bars of a police motorcycle. At another point Howard (i.e., Bannister, not Hawks) starts a fire in his hotel room. This time the chaotic results definitely follow the pattern set when Rex Harrison started a fire in his dressing room in Preston Sturges' *Unfaithfully Yours*. And so forth. In effect *What's Up, Doc?* is an anthology of routines, concepts and characters from those wild, old Hollywood comedies, and I mean *in effect*. Bogdanovich's film has just the same limitations as those comedy anthology films that splice together thirty or forty bits from as many different movies. Nothing in the film is very funny because everything seems to happen out of context.

Since it is part of a stunt-studded chase, which is funnier than the rest of the film put together, Howard's ride on that bike cart is perhaps more like slapstick '20s comedy than something out of a '30s talkie. Keaton's ride on motorcycle handle bars in *Sherlock Junior* is probably a better analogue for it than Miss Hepburn's ride in *Baby*. But in every other way *Bringing Up Baby* is the model on which *What's Up, Doc?* has been built. In *Baby*, an heiress (Miss Hepburn) tries to help a befuddled professor (Cary Grant) obtain a museum donation from her aunt. In *Doc*, Judy tries to help the equally befuddled Howard obtain a fellowship from a foundation.

More striking than the similarities of plot, however, are the similarities in the formula of the comedy. The mainspring of Hawks' cuckoo clock is a comedy of errors. An invaluable dinosaur bone is mistaken for a dog's bone (primarily by the dog), and then a man-eating leopard is mistaken for a tame one. In Bogdanovich's film the comedy is driven by the same sort of mechanism when four identical overnight bags check into the same hotel on the same day. One is full of stolen documents and another contains a fortune in jewels. The third bag contains less valuable rocks—Howard's collection of igneous rocks, which here play the role that the dinosaur bone plays in *Baby*. The fourth bag belongs to Judy.

Unfortunately we know little about Judy except that she owns the fourth bag. She literally comes at us, and at Howard, out of nowhere. This is in marked contrast to *Baby*, where we see the rich girl played by Miss Hepburn in her natural habitat with other rich people. Judy's disconnectedness, her lack of context, has a lot to do with why *Doc* isn't funny while *Baby* is. In *Baby*—or in Sturges' *Unfaithfully Yours*, for that matter—the comic situation arises from real attempts to solve real problems. The solutions go so wonderfully wrong because they were

eccentric and excessive in the first place, but the problem itself is something that we can sympathize with. The characters in those older comedies are funny precisely because they are trying to be serious.

But Judy isn't. From the beginning she is an interloper, a daffy mugger choosing her victim at random. There is no problem that she hasn't caused and that couldn't be solved if she would just go away. Her presence is, at best, unnecessary. From her first "What's Up, Doc?" to her last, she strikes us as someone who is trying to be cute, and therefore isn't. The opening credits are printed in a big album whose pages are turned by a woman's hand, presumably Judy's. When the hand gets to Ryan O'Neal's name, it pats the page affectionately. When it gets to the film's title, it tries to smudge a lipstick blot that's also on the page. These self-prepossessing little gestures are regrettably true to Judy's personality throughout the rest of the film.

Last year's remake of *Baby* was *A New Leaf*, which, like *Doc*, was chosen as the Easter show at Radio City. But *What's Up, Doc?* isn't in the same class with *A New Leaf*. *A New Leaf* was funny. It was also the work of one person, Elaine May, who both wrote the script and directed. Maybe that is the secret of success with this kind of comedy, for *Baby* had a single writer-director too, as did *Unfaithfully Yours*. Although Bogdanovich wrote the story on which *What's Up, Doc?* was based, he got three of Hollywood's top screen writers—Buck Henry (*The Graduate*) and Robert Benton and David Newman (*Bonnie and Clyde*)—to do the script. These men, who have rather different talents anyway, clearly didn't work well as a team. It's possible that each one thought the others would be responsible for rationalizing Judy's place in the story, and thus none of them noticed when she ended up with no *raison d'être* at all.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

an exchange of views

I—Thirty Years of Treason

New York, N.Y.
To the Editors: I was quite distressed to read what Saul Maloff has to say about me in his discussion of *30 Years of Treason* [Apr. 14]. I don't think what he thinks I think; nor does the text of my book support him. On this last point I can only refer the sceptical to the relevant pages, which are numbered 940-953, 575-577, and 768-770.

Just how turned around things can get might be illustrated from Mr. Maloff's assumption that I wanted unfriendly witnesses to make "rotund proclamations." They *did* make such proclamations (usually in the press rather than in the committee room). I reprint some of these in my book and, in the Afterword Mr. Maloff takes issue with, I characterize them as "bullshit."

On a point of fact, I was never what Mr. Maloff calls a "*certified* [my italics] anti-communist socialist." Sidney Hook called me a Communist to my face just after he had reviewed my first book in *The Nation*. That was in 1944, but just last week Philip Toynbee reviewed *30 Years of Treason* in *The Observer* and

quite clearly found me soft on Communism. In the period when my writings focused on Stalinism, though I was on the anti-Stalin side I was also the translator of Brecht and was working very closely in the theater with blacklisted actors, some of whom were well-known Stalinists. Because of these two last circumstances, my Chairman at Columbia University was encouraged

'Thirty Years Of What?'

by the FBI to say I was a Communist. He wondered if the FBI completely discounted the anti-Communist material in my writings as the camouflage of a spy but concluded it was more likely that the FBI does not read.

On the 5th Amendment, I have never remotely suggested that it was intended for the use of some citizens and not others. On the contrary I have stressed—what I learned from some fairly wide reading in the history of that Amendment and its interpretation—

that it was always intended for the use of the guilty as well as of the innocent. I have specifically defended the right of the individual Communist to invoke this Amendment in prudence—that is, in sheer self-defense. All of which is beside my main point, which was that the use of this *and many other* forms of secrecy by the CPUSA was a misfortune for radicalism and for America.

Mr. Maloff feels that I am accusing people—people on the Left—of treason; so that, in the last analysis, I am a McCarthyite myself. Perhaps both he and I are using the word treason too broadly here. If the word "betrayal" will do instead, let me repeat here what is said in *30 Years of Treason*: by all means I am one of those who believe that a revolution was betrayed by Stalin. Since it is a betrayal of one country to give allegiance to another, American Stalinists who went all the way with their Stalinism were traitors twice over.

"The Soviet leadership has carried out aggression, subversion, control and interference against other countries. What the Soviet leadership is practicing

is certainly not socialism but, as Lenin put it, socialism in words, imperialism in deeds." This is what Chiao Kuan-hua was saying at the U.N. last November, and it has some bearing on our interpretation of Communist Party activities in our own country. I am still not denying that an American who is helping the Soviet leadership conduct such activities has the right to invoke the 5th Amendment.

ERIC BENTLEY

Reply:

Bridgewater, Conn.

To the Editors: I join Eric Bentley in inviting the skeptical to read carefully not only the pages cited but the entire Afterword; and for the moment I suggest a careful re-reading of the above letter, which simply demonstrates my point and what I regard as his continuing confusion.

The 5th, Mr. Bentley argues, is intended for the guilty along with the innocent—while fatally forgetting that it was also a defense against the pressure to inform, as well as the means of refusing to collude in the infamous purposes of the State, which is an absolute duty for radicals. As regards "guilt" and "innocence," the State recognizes no nice distinctions. Moreover, what were the "guilty" guilty of—belief? membership? attendance at cocktail parties? "Treason" (a terribly mischievous term which I wish Mr. Bentley would simply erase from his political vocabulary) is an *act*, not a set of mind or a roiling in the stomach.

Nor does it help—indeed it confounds confusion—to substitute the gentler term "betrayal," especially when he immediately reverts to the harsher term by equating Stalin's bloody subversion of the socialist revolution with the ideological subservience of his American supporters. Stalin is guilty as charged; the Soviet leadership is guilty as Chiao Kuan-hua charges; and the CPUSA is guilty in its fashion—but the last of these, woefully wicked though it be, is different in *kind* from the others, and we had better insist rigorously upon this distinction lest we hopelessly confuse act and advocacy and thereby surrender to Sidney Hook,

Nixon's favorite American metaphysician and ideologue.

A final word. I certainly never charged Mr. Bentley with being a McCarthyite; if there's the least impression in anything I wrote that I did so, I extend to Mr. Bentley my deep apologies—though I think him wrong in the issues specified, which is another mat-

ter. On the contrary, I honor him for the work he has done and will do, not least his book on HUAC. And now let us both conserve our polemical energies for the great immediate task of bringing to a close one minute sooner the nightmare we are every day visiting upon the land and peoples of Southeast Asia.

SAUL MALOFF

II-The Life of Prayer

Winchester, Va.

To the Editors: "Down from the Mountain" by Margaret Rowe [Feb. 25] is a splendid exposition of what we understand by the active or apostolic religious community. The deep concern and in-

'Down From The Mountain'

volvement with such current issues as Vietnam, urban ghettos, etc. lend a few additional dimensions toward which communities with such commitment find themselves moving these days. But Sister Margaret leaves the one agonizing question which is occupying so much of our thought and prayer these days undiscussed, unanswered, or should I say, ignored.

Maybe it is unfair to ask this of her since the article did not pretend to take up the discussion: what is the real efficacy of prayer which finds a way of life totally dedicated and primarily interested in it even to the point of limiting *active* involvement in the relief of suffering humanity? Sister Margaret Rowe had been on the mountain. She now knows by her own personal experience the mountain and the valley (if that is what the active life is). She is most qualified to answer the question. She did not repudiate the contemplative life as a vocation for some. Yet she hardly recommended it.

Her journey of the soul by way of experiment is commendable but maybe only up to a point. It became individual and was no longer a part of her (form-

er) community. Experiment of this type has the specific purpose of invigorating the community life style. She has started something new (from the contemplative viewpoint) but has not in any way added to or salvaged the form of life which had been her previous calling. I don't think the vocation to contemplative prayer was supposed to change. We presume she was searching for ways to deepen contemplative prayer. She adopted a new life. She did not adapt the old. I commend the experiment but find great difficulty in calling it a genuine experiment since it has little or no relationship with the style of life and contemplative prayer Sister left behind.

My knowledge of contemplatives leads me to believe that when genuine they are anything but 'isolated' from the rest of mankind. And no matter what may be the image of the cloister on the outside, every genuine contemplative worth his or her salt in learning and practicing genuine prayer has arrived at this point of self-estimation—they are among the least of God's children. They feel little personal concern about that "higher state."

VINCENT FITZPATRICK, S.T.

Holy Trinity Missionary Cenacle

Reply:

Nanaimo, B.C.

To the Editors: It is true, as your correspondent observes, that I did not intend to take up the discussion of what is the real efficacy of prayer in a way of life that not merely limits, but actually enacts legislation prohibiting, any form of involvement in the lives

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and needs of those for whom one prays. I am concerned primarily with "life-styles"—the area in which we are experimenting. I do not altogether accept that I "adopted a new life [but] did not adapt the old" since what we seek is the opportunity and environment to live out our religious contemplative lives with a certain creativity and self-determination, to test the elements we have challenged in the institute: its regimented structure, customs, horarium, authority patterns, and so forth.

However, I would like to make a few observations which may answer, at least in part, some of these questions. Firstly, the canonical contemplative institute has produced few, very few, genuine contemplatives. I say this with sorrow but with certainty. We have in our cloisters many men and women with an attraction for affective prayer and a quiet orderly life, but who neither believe in nor really aspire to the knowledge and union with God that is supposedly their *raison d'être*. The ideal of the contemplative life has always been something very beautiful (due in part to its inaccessibility), but in fact the reality has rarely, if ever, corresponded to it. The result is that we have a large number of pious, observant religious, who are regular at their prayers, but who do not really believe in the contemplative ideal which they profess. Complete isolation through cloister, and resultant lack of two-way communication, has gradually led to a self-perpetuating structure that has taken precedence over the needs of the individual for personal development and fulfillment (and we must be fully human if we are to be truly holy), so that the canonical contemplative life in the church has become so far removed from normal living that it can no longer be seen as a valid Christian vocation at all. To go even further, I think it can be fairly claimed that it is not, in fact, specifically Christian at all, but is a human phenomenon (like marriage) which was there and was taken over and Christianized. There is, in man, an instinct to go aside and seek in solitude a mystical knowledge of God, and this is what the contemplative or mon-

astic life has always tried to do. But in the process of Christianization, we must take into account what Christ said about the presence of God in ordinary human life, particularly in the Beatitudes, and again in the last verses of Matthew's 25th chapter. This tells us that the neighbor *must* come first, and that a life which positively excludes him (as does the traditional cloister) is not in fact Christian; for the Christian, rather, the mystical knowledge of God is to be found in service and community with other people (and this has been true in the lives of Christianity's most famous contemplative saints, e.g., St. Teresa, St. Bernard).

To say this, of course, is to admit that the whole "esse" has been misunderstood for a very long time; but to me that appears eminently possible. After all, one needs only to look at the church's ideas on the role of women, on sexuality, on the nature of the church itself. Men can believe *anything* (that the earth is flat and that the sun revolves around it) as they have done for centuries. For these reasons I no longer believe that *Christian* contemplative life can rule out service and involvement. If it does so in favor of

solitude, recollection, or any personal needs, it is an aberration.

As we live here, our aim is to provide an external framework and opportunity to test our many ideas regarding the renewal of the contemplative life as it has existed in the church until now. This, for the most part, concerns our mode of living, praying and working, in the context of contemporary society. Our expectations in regard to prayer, reading, the "spiritual life" are in no way changed; the difference is in life-style, in relationships, in the ordering of our day and our lives, of earning our living . . . all external situations related to the social and economic norms of our own time.

Space does not permit elaborating on this, but we do find our ideas undergoing mutation and change. In the months that have elapsed since submitting the ms. published on Feb. 25, 1972, some of our concepts on community have developed and enlarged considerably. We feel, however, that we are extending, not renouncing, our original calling, but that we have grown far beyond the confines of its predetermined and man-made limits.

(SISTER) MARGARET ROWE



JUDITH TATE

WHAT AN ARRIVAL THAT WOULD BE

"One doesn't arrive," explains the bald anthropologist, "by mapped freeways which go always Somewhere. One could begin by snaking deep into steaming Mayan jungles. There—thrusting up high through wet wild leaves and fanning trees—stand strange B. C. hieroglyphic stairs. Leading Nowhere. Undeciphered, they keep the mystery of why they lead to and end in air. Perhaps," muses the anthropologist, "some mad Mayan prince sensed that stone and spidered gods were only ciphers held in awe. Maybe he began to diagram those stairs to Am."

How I would like to trace those flaking hieroglyphs and climb up up until I stood tired and sublime with enameled jungle green at my feet and blue air in my hair. And, oh, then to take a sure-footed step-out onto that undeciphered, unabbreviated Air.

BOOKS

Depth psychology and the reality of the unmanifest

My Brother Paul

RICHARD L. RUBENSTEIN

Harper & Row, \$5.95

EDWARD GLYNN

An event in the life of a nation or an individual can be of such overwhelming magnitude that it shakes to the point of dissolution all the cultural and religious moorings that stabilize life. If there occurs a successful reintegration of those elements previously constituting the personal or national foundations now disintegrated, that nation or person becomes twice-born. The past is reinterpreted and the future redirected in the light of that overpowering event. There is a new life.

Such for Paul of Tarsus was the experience of the Risen Christ that forced him to reinterpret his past and the traditions of his religious community and to move into a future containing a new horizon. Such for Rabbi Richard L. Rubenstein was the totally unexpected death of his three-month-old son on the morning before Yom Kippur in 1950. Both life-transforming experiences involved the theme of death and resurrection. "Paul's conversion took place when he became convinced that Christ had defeated death; mine began when I finally gave up all hope that God would in the end redeem me from death." The death of Nathaniel, "too young to have given offense to either his earthly or heavenly father," brought home to Rubenstein with a certitude never before experienced that he too was doomed to die no matter how well he performed.

Unlike Paul's second birth, that of Dr. Rubenstein, author of *After Auschwitz* and presently professor of religion at Florida State University, was not sudden. It took seventeen years and, as he says, an analyst as a midwife. The process of rebirth entailed for him the

discovery, not of a messianic redeemer as it did for Paul, but of that which "Paul understood perhaps better than any other man of his time, the wisdom of learning to trust what we have been given." In a recent *New York Times* essay (3/4/72) Rubenstein expressed his Camus-like faith: "It is my faith after Auschwitz that we are children of Earth, that all of us are destined eventually to be consumed by our original progenetrix, that we have nothing to hope for beyond our bodily lives, and that our religions with their impressive rituals are but the distinctive ways we share and celebrate a condition entirely enclosed within the fatalities of an absurd earthly existence."

In *My Brother Paul*, an excellent and stimulating book, Dr. Rubenstein seeks to express his positive appreciation of Paul and his religious genius. He sees Paul to have intuitively understood that which is a basic insight of both religion and psychoanalysis—the reality of the unmanifest. Consequently Paul was able to make manifest "some of the deepest and most archaic emotional strivings of mankind because he was able to give objectified expression to his own unconscious mental processes." The letters of Paul are filled, according to Rubenstein, with the imagery and symbolism of primary process thinking, the id's level of mental functioning. The book's individual chapters seek in a not superficial way to demonstrate major instances of this.

For example, the Pauline theme of the distinctionless unity of all persons in Christ (Gal. 3:28) corresponds to the psychoanalytic category of identification, reveals Paul's being in touch with the imagery of his earliest experiences and expresses a return to the earliest reality Paul had ever known, the stage of primary narcissism that preceded differentiation of the archaic ego from either the external world or the id, that stage of mental development "in

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which there was neither subject nor object, and above all, no death." Similarly Paul's association of the baptism experience of the newly baptized Christian with the death and resurrection of Christ resulted from his intuitive understanding of and his ability to give theological expression to "the identity of womb and tomb in the subliminal consciousness of mankind." So too Paul's discussion of the first and last Adam gave objectified expression to another of the deepest yearnings of mankind—the archaic yearning for a fresh start.

The excellence of this book is that the author has ably combined the results of scholarly biblical research and the findings of depth psychology to portray effectively the profundity of Paul's religious genius. "Almost two thousand years before the depth psychology that his religious imagination helped to make possible, Paul of Tarsus gave expression to mankind's yearning for the new and flawless beginning that could finally end the cycle of anxiety, repression, desire, and craving—the inevitable concomitants of the human pilgrimage."

Scholars of the New Testament and of post- and non-Freudian psychology will differ among themselves in evaluating the adequacy or inadequacy of Rubenstein's interpretation of the biblical and psychological data and the categories used to express them. But this will not detract from the book's power to stimulate, which results from its raising afresh on the philosophical level that most existential of questions: What does death say about what it means to be a human person? Are our deepest yearnings doomed to be frustrated eventually? The fact of our yearnings is empirically certain. That of their satisfaction is not. For an Augustine, the restlessness of the human heart is the first word spoken to us by the living God who alone is capable of satisfying our hunger. For a Camus, that inescapable restlessness is one of the poles constituting the absurdity of our existence in a benignly indifferent universe, the other pole being the slow persistent breeze blowing from the future—death. Are we, with the wisdom of Paul that Rubenstein strongly endorses, to trust that which

we have been given? But that which we have been most fundamentally and constitutively given as human persons is our hunger for life. To say that we can trust this is on the empirical level a lie, as Peter Berger has rightly pointed out. On the empirical level there is coming to each of us only death and darkness. That there is no reality capable of satisfying our deepest yearnings is absurd. But the manifest reality of the empirical is not the whole of human reality. Is our most archaic yearning, which we are to trust, pushing us forward to return us instinct-like to where we came from—the primordial undifferentiated unity of a benignly indifferent universe? Or is it pushing us forward to return us to the Beginning and the End, "Abba, Father"? Both are interpretive expressions of different faith understandings of what our most fundamental human yearnings are saying to us and what our last enemy, death, is saying to us. The life of each of us is our response to what we hear being said, a response necessarily made in faith.

Science and Sentiment in America

MORTON WHITE

Oxford, \$8.95

JOHN P. SISK

Morton White's book is about what he believes to be "the most important and most interesting strain in the development of American philosophy—its response to the challenge of modern science and scientific method." The story begins with the legacy of Locke's "uneasy combination of empiricism and rationalism," and, although it involves in supporting roles such overseas thinkers as Hume, Reid, Coleridge, Kant, Darwin, Spencer, Mill and Bergson, its major figures are the Calvinist Jonathan Edwards, the natural law advocate James Wilson, the transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson, the empiricist Chauncey Wright, the pragmatists Charles Pierce and William James, the idealist Josiah Royce and the naturalists

George Santayana and John Dewey. Professor White (who, given the dimensions of his subject, might very well have written a four-pounder) rounds off his assignment in little more than three hundred pages. He writes with charm and style, is always firmly in control of his argument, resists all temptations to indulge in colorful irrelevancies, recapitulates at exactly the right places, and concludes with what is in effect a succinct position paper. There are notes and an index. It is a very satisfying and clarifying book.

What it clarifies is the consequence in America of the addition of a sixth sense to Locke's five. The result, especially in Edwards, Emerson and James, was an intellectual anti-intellectualism "as American as apple pie, indeed, as American as apple pie in the sky." This sixth sense, with its suggestion of the very inner light that Locke was so anxious to discredit, was Edwards' Sense of the Heart, which made available to plowboys no less than to Puritan divines a special kind of knowledge. Its democratic implications are apparent in James Wilson, distinguished colonial philosopher of law and signer of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, who departed still further from Locke with his conviction "that the self-evident propositions of morality rest on sentiment rather than reason."

Subsequently the Sense of the Heart appeared as Emerson's Reason (in Coleridge's sense of the term), that "Wise Seer within" which never errs, as he claims in his poem "Self Reliance." The empiricist Chauncey Wright had little confidence in this Seer, but even he had to concede that transcendental metaphysics was akin to poetry in its exercise of noble, if not particularly truth-yielding, tendencies. For Pierce, James, Santayana (paradoxically close to Emerson despite his naturalism), Royce and Dewey a mere concession was not enough—especially not for the later James, whose susceptibility to Bergson so upset Arthur O. Lovejoy.

"James represents the triumph of Romanticism in American thought," says Professor White. This triumph was

indicated less in the fact that James was, as Santayana believed, a shock to the genteel tradition than in the fact that sentiment and immediate experience were given so much weight in his philosophy. In him, in other words, Edwards' Sense of the Heart is most sensibly felt, and by implication it is from him, even more than from Emerson, that contemporary Romantics (whether their affiliations are counter-cultural or genteel and academic) can draw sustenance.

The fortunes of the Sense of the Heart as it struggles for Lebensraum against the spirit of nineteenth century science do indeed make a very romantic story. Professor White has strong reservations about its hero. However, instead of expressing them in the usual prefatory way in order to provide a frame of reference, he holds his reservations back for an epilogue. The strategy is excellent since the effect is that of an earned rather than forced conclusion. It is in this epilogue that he spells out the connection between the tradition he has been examining and the "anti-intellectualism rampant today" that makes it so hard for us to face "the world with a totality of beliefs of *all* kinds."

Since anti-intellectualism is so central to this book, I think there is reason to call attention to Professor White's important essay, "Reflections on Anti-Intellectualism" (*Daedalus*, volume 91, 1962). This was originally a Phi Beta Kappa address delivered in 1960 at Marietta College at a time when White was Professor of Philosophy at Harvard (he is currently with The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton). It was also in 1960 that Norman O.

Brown delivered at Columbia his own Phi Beta Kappa address, "Apocalypse," which was destined after its publication in *Harper's* (May, 1961) to become one of the counter-culture's basic documents. The Marietta address was, unwittingly, a lucid and urbane rejection of Brown's Dionysianism. Now *Science and Sentiment in America* can be said to put that rejection into full historical perspective. For in Brown Edwards' sixth sense has very nearly devoured those earth-bound five senses upon which Locke so confidently rested his case.

It is in connection with Brown that one might question the emphasis that White places on the democratic animus of the Sense of the Heart. That it has great democratic potential in Edwards, Wilson, Pierce, James and Dewey is clear enough; but by the time it appears in Brown (to say nothing of numerous lesser visionaries of the sixties) is not the anti-democratic and elitist potential beginning to be apparent? "Apocalypse" is a celebration of "the undemocratic but sovereign power of the imagination" and of those mysteries that "are intrinsically esoteric, and such an offense to democracy." Indeed,

it is Professor White's fine book that helps me understand how Brown can hanker after the aristocratic academies of Plato's Athens and Ficino's Florence but still be as American as apple pie.

Two-Way Traffic

JOEL LIEBER

Doubleday, \$6.95

MICHAEL J. BANDLER

Joel Lieber committed suicide last May 3rd. He was 35.

He died not by asphyxiation, nor by gunshot, nor by slashing his wrists—all of which he had once considered—but by plunging from his Manhattan apartment window.

For those who are unfamiliar with Lieber's earlier writings, he was part of that rich, earthy crop of Jewish black humorists, exemplified by Bruce Jay Friedman, Irvin Faust and Jerome Charyn, among others. He was moderately successful with the critics in his first six efforts—four novels, a travel guide to Israel and a collection of essays on the seamier side of life in

Remember the day the Pope visited New York? Even if you do, you don't. At least not the way John Guare does in his terrifically funny, yet quietly moving play. His avant-garde look at, among other things, commercialized U.S. Catholicism has been called a "Marx Brothers tragedy," and "a tempest of hilarity." But *The House of Blue Leaves* was perhaps best summed up by Walter Kerr: "the most striking new American play of the (1970-1971) season." It is a joy to read.
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The House of Blue Leaves

A Play by John Guare
winner of the New York
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REVIEWERS

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America—and even copped a movie sale as well as the job of writing the screenplay.

His personal life was something of a shambles. After building what appeared to be a successful marriage, with two children, it all collapsed. The writings seemed to keep him going, though, until a week after he turned in his revised manuscript of *Two-Way Traffic*, his newest novel, to Doubleday. It was then that he took his final plunge.

With the extraordinary success of Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* last year, and the recent suicides of Mishima and John Berryman, the literary world seems to be a bit possessed. We don't know as yet whether the Japanese writer and the American poet left any writings explaining their moods, but Lieber's last protagonist, Jesse Jacobi, is all Lieber—just as Esther Greenwood was Sylvia Plath.

Without harping at length on the Plath book and the cult which arose out of it, both of which received wide attention during 1971, it should be pointed out that there are striking similarities between the circumstances of *The Bell Jar* and *Two-Way Traffic*. The most significant is that both books were therapeutic in conception and design, yet both failed as therapy. Sylvia Plath, through Esther Greenwood, depicted the events and suicide attempts of her 20th year; it took Mrs. Plath another eleven years to succeed at suicide. Lieber, through Jesse Jacobi, outlined the events of his 33rd year and the numerous attempts to do himself in; two years later, at 35, Lieber was dead. Ironically, both books end on a hopeful plateau. The plunge into the eternal abyss occurred on the post-ultimate page.

Two-Way Traffic is a journal of a year in Jesse Jacobi's life—the breakup of his marriage, his suicide attempts, his therapy, his voracious sex life and his apparent fresh start. It's an emotional, sad, yet occasionally frustrating book, because one gets the feeling Lieber is allowing the reader to view his sores but barring him from offering a salve.

The two-way traffic of the title is in Jesse's mind, which is tugging in two

directions: one side of him wants to persevere and the other wants to quit. At book's end, we see it resolved one way, but in real life, it was the reverse.

Lieber was always on the verge of power in his writings, and—sadly—he reached it only in his final work. During the course of an earlier section of the book, in which suicide was his firm intent, he wrote:

"I am sick of my sufferings, sick to death, sick to life . . .

I've stopped looking for exit signs.

I've stopped looking for entrance signs.

I don't care about anything.

I have no desires.

I am my own assassin.

I am watching a movie of my own life disappearing . . ."

Then, with a deft flick of the pen, he noted,

"And in the middle of this I am writing a book review. Poor writer, if he only knew."

Escorted by a strange crew of companions, "anguish, suffering, sleeplessness, worry, anxiety, tension," Jesse-Joel is engaged in a quest for direction. He can easily list his failures, but not his achievements. He spends 27 days in the hospital after his latest failure—at suicide. He is beset by his macrobiotic, slovenly wife—from whom he is separated, and later divorced—who neglects her children, shacks up around town and accumulates expenses for Jesse. (Lieber's widow, it is reported, approved the manuscript.)

In essence, the heart of the "to be or not to be" dilemma lies in the circumstances of his birth to strongly Jewish, if not observant, parents. Jesse's paternal grandmother died the day before he was born, it is revealed, and his father was in mourning when the baby arrived:

"Ah-hah! Was it my birth or your mother's death? A child born and you sit shiva through the pregnancy and after my birth. He sat shiva while I was coming. And he sat shiva for the death during and after my birth. He recited prayers for the dead, prayers of mourning while my life was starting. I am involved in the death of his par-

ents. Thank you for finally letting me in on it."

And so, freed of all links to the past that contributed to his suicidal bent—wife, parents, in-laws—Jesse begins to swing. Sex, he discovers, takes his mind off suicide, allows his thought processes to blossom and his writing to flourish. His manuscript is accepted (is it "Two-Way Traffic"?), and he even begins to harbor insecurities: "I'm getting too much happiness, too many things are going well, too much good will—and I'm going to get crucified for it. I seem to be in some state of permanent high."

That's the way it ends—with a new love, a new home and new hope, all awash in the idyllic imagery of a Salem commercial—or so it would seem to one who was unaware of that final unwritten section, the chapter in which the mind's traffic flow was reversed, as in the case of Sylvia Plath.

What happened? No one will know. "Two-Way Traffic" gives little indication of the reasons for the ultimate breakdown. Yet as literature, as an example of the New York American-Jewish school of writing, and as a fluoroscopic portrait of the obsessions dormant in many of us, this is a skillful, lucid and crowning work of an all too short career.

CORRESPONDENCE



(Continued from page 253)

thing clear about Latin America, it is that the lions are not going to be soft-talked into desisting from eating the lambs.

I fear our own lions here at home are no different from their subordinate associates next door. In which case, we also are taking sides for as long as we refuse to take sides. GARY MACEOIN



Michael Novak (Cont.)

overburdened parents. To provide a social context within which life can be preserved and nourished is the concrete duty of those who hate abortion.

Adequate legislation on abortion must, therefore, reward those who abhor abortion, as well as those who desire it. If government tolerates abortion, it should also ease the burdens of those who choose to give birth. We need to turn social imagination, not a mere technical "solution," to this problem.

Fourthly, it is plain that many lower-middle-class parents prefer private schooling for their children. They want a religious education for their children—and, at times, they protest bitterly the decisions of the hierarchy or clergy to close such schools. They are not alone, now, in distrusting what bureaucracy has made of the public school. They are not alone in distrusting the ideology and procedures that the schools impose upon minority students. (Many radical thinkers, whose eyes were first opened to this ideological content by the experience of the Blacks, Chicanos, and Indians, may now see in retrospect how it has functioned against Poles, Italians, the Irish, and others.)

A diversified school system, more closely tied to families and neighborhoods, is a social good for America. Two problems must be solved politically: How to prevent local schools from dividing white against black, or ethnic group against ethnic group. And how to use school taxes equitably for all schools. Here, too, social imagination is needed.

The issue of financing community schools is a harsh one in Black communities, Chicano communities, Indian communities, in areas where large concentrations of Catholics desire parochial schools (in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, etc.), and in other communities, especially Jewish and Lutheran. Well, is this nation capable of sponsoring a genuine pluralism, or isn't it? Is the enemy divisiveness, or is it homogenization?

It is useless to say that aid to parochial schools, for example, involves church groups in politics, and government in religion. The present system already does that. There is wide dissatisfaction with the present school system. Surely, fresh political imagina-

tion can devise "a new politics" defending more rights and more social goods than the present system does. Community schools could cooperate. And each sort of school could devise programs for putting its children in contact with cultural traditions not their own.

Such a new politics would have a great and powerful appeal. It could become the basis of a new coalition of blacks and whites, poor and lower-middle-class. We need to put our minds to it.

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